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A/47/736  
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27 November 1992

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GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
Forty-seventh session  
Agenda item 45  
QUESTION OF CYPRUS

SECURITY COUNCIL  
Forty-seventh year

Letter dated 27 November 1992 from the Permanent  
Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations  
addressed to the Secretary-General

With reference to the confidence-building measures included in your report of 19 November 1992 concerning your mission of good offices in Cyprus (S/24830), and further to Security Council resolution 789 (1992), adopted unanimously on 25 November 1992, I have the honour, with respect in particular to paragraph 64 of your report, which states that the implementation of the said confidence-building measures "would be a good measure of the political will of all concerned to work actively towards a solution of the Cyprus problem", to forward herewith a letter dated 24 November 1992 addressed to you by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. George Vassiliou, indicating acceptance of the said confidence-building measures by the Government of Cyprus (see annex).

I should be grateful if the text of the present letter and its annex could be circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 45, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) A. J. JACOVIDES  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of  
the Republic of Cyprus  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Letter dated 24 November 1992 from the President of Cyprus  
addressed to the Secretary-General

I have received your recent report on your mission of good offices, covering the resumed joint meetings in New York from 28 October to 11 November 1992.

I have thoroughly studied the part of the report that accurately reflects the positions expressed by each side under the eight main headings of the Set of Ideas.

I have also examined with great interest your observations, which clearly identify as the reason for the failure of the recent round of talks in New York the Turkish Cypriot positions, which, as stated in your report, are, in a fundamental way, outside the framework of the Set of Ideas.

Taking into account the goal of the forthcoming joint meetings, that is, to conclude an overall agreement on the basis of the entire Set of Ideas endorsed by the Security Council, and believing, as you do, that the prospects for progress could be greatly enhanced if a number of confidence-building measures were adopted, I consider of utmost importance the specific measures proposed by you to help to create a climate of confidence that will contribute to the success of the forthcoming negotiating process.

It is in this spirit of good will that I wish to inform you that we accept the proposed measures. It is naturally expected that Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot side will also accept them and will be willing to proceed with their implementation. On our part we will do our utmost to cooperate with you for the success of your endeavours.

(Signed) George VASSILIOU

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GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
Forty-seventh session  
Agenda item 97 (c)  
HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS:  
HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS AND  
REPORTS OF SPECIAL RAPPORTEURS  
AND REPRESENTATIVES

SECURITY COUNCIL  
Forty-seventh year

Letter dated 27 November 1992 from the Permanent  
Representative of Slovenia to the United Nations  
addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter addressed to you by  
His Excellency Mr. Milan Kucan, President of the Presidency of the Republic of  
Slovenia (see annex).

I should be grateful if you would have the present letter and its annex  
circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under agenda  
item 97 (c), and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Danilo TURK  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

Letter dated 25 November 1992 from the President of Slovenia  
addressed to the Secretary-General

I can still remember the conversation we had two months ago on the tragedy of the nations of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and on the ways of overcoming the war, as well as the necessity to find a political solution to the crisis, reduce the suffering of thousands of children and adults, and save human lives.

The conversation with you left a very deep impression on me, as it had revealed your exceptional sensitivity to the tragedy of these so unfortunate people and also moved me to write this letter.

People, young and old, men and women, are still dying a violent death in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In their desperate attempts at mass and hopeless flight from fire and sword, and the force that kills, destroys and burns in blind hate all that it finds on its way, hundreds and thousands have become refugees and homeless persons in their own country, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The conquest of land, its ethnic cleansing and the genocidal aggression are finding allies in the coming winter, cold and snow, epidemics, starvation and exhaustion.

Forced deportations and displacements of whole cities, towns, villages and the consequences of such war crimes demand at least humanitarian aid for accommodation and care for the victims of persecution and expulsion. Once ethnic cleansing, genocide, forced changing of borders and the conquering of territory become a fait accompli, Europe and the world will be confronted by catastrophic consequences. We certainly cannot underestimate the fact that the ethnic composition of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina is being changed and left ravaged by this war. This in turn, and if nothing is undertaken against it, will undoubtedly make harder or even prevent the maintaining of territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a country of three nations with equal rights.

The people of Slovenia carry their share of the burden imposed by providing shelter and humanitarian aid to the numerous refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina with understanding, but unfortunately, this burden has already exceeded what our country can bear. Very few European countries carry a heavier burden than Slovenia.

Fear of migrations is widespread, particularly in West Europe, but such fears cannot be removed by the sending of humanitarian aid alone, the more so because the aggressor in this war, as hard to grasp as this may seem to us, still remains an interlocutor of equal status with the rest of the world and even with the United Nations, which thus approve of and tolerate the policies and their creators directly responsible for this tragedy. It is these very policies that the international community is confronting without any evident

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success, even though it is investing enormous material means, time and energy in fighting against the consequences of the war.

Allow me, therefore, to draw your attention to the proposal, made by myself as well as other representatives of Slovenia at many international conferences and in various discussions over the last five months, and the same one I presented to you during our meeting in New York.

Finding solutions to humanitarian aspects of the crisis, the assurance of a political future for Bosnia and Herzegovina as a State of three independent nations and, not least, the alleviation of migrational pressure on Europe can be accomplished only by immediate political and military action to establish, without any delay, an adequate number of safety zones under United Nations protection. In that respect, the report of Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki and his suggestions have made a profound impression on us and have also shown that he has recently come up with solutions, very similar to ours.

I also believe that it would be absolutely necessary to have the United Nations establish a permanent and safe corridor from Sarajevo to the coast. Such a corridor would enable the uninterrupted supply of humanitarian aid and prevent the complete destruction of Sarajevo as a city and its further transformation into a death camp for its inhabitants.

Rapid and concrete measures are of the utmost urgency, otherwise people in that republic will continue to die in thousands. By looking helplessly upon this mass slaughter and further infliction of grief we are becoming, objectively speaking, accomplices to what has already happened and is still happening in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the light of all of the above reasons, I find it extremely important that the United Nations has asked you to study the possibilities and conditions for the establishment of safety zones to be used for humanitarian aid. I am convinced you will do your best in the shortest time possible so as to prevent by rapid action further crimes against humanity and this catastrophe and human tragedy. We are extending to you our fullest support in these efforts.

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Milan KUČAN  
President

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27 November 1992

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GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
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Agenda item 33  
POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE  
GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

SECURITY COUNCIL  
Forty-seventh year

Letter dated 27 November 1992 from the Permanent Representative  
of South Africa to the United Nations addressed to the  
Secretary-General

As you are aware, since the multi-party negotiations on a new constitution for South Africa were suspended in May 1992, following the withdrawal of the African National Congress (ANC) from the process, the Government of South Africa has made every effort to secure their resumption. The Record of Understanding reached in bilateral discussions with ANC on 26 September 1992 (see A/47/494-S/24606 of 1 October 1992) presaged the return of that organization.

An issue of general concern has been the timetable to be followed for the further negotiations and implementation of decisions regarding the institution of a transitional executive council, elections and the installation of a government of national unity.

I now have the honour to transmit to you a statement and accompanying background paper issued by State President F. W. de Klerk on 26 November 1992, setting out a proposed timetable for the transitional process (see annex). The timetable envisages that a fully representative government of national unity will be in place no later than the first half of 1994.

Whereas the Government of South Africa is for its part committed to the timetable, it can be implemented only with the cooperation of all important parties in South Africa. The Government of South Africa anticipates the support of the international community for this programme.

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S/24866  
English  
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I should be grateful if the present letter and its annex could be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 33, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) V. R. W. STEWARD  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative

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ANNEX

**STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK ON THE TIMETABLE FOR THE TRANSITIONAL PROCESS**

The main question in our national debate on further constitutional reform now centres on the timing of the process which will lead to the installation of a Government of National Unity. The Government has received numerous queries and representations in this regard from persons and organisations inside South Africa and abroad.

Against the background set out in the attached position paper, the Government considers it in the best interest of the country that a fully representative Government of National Unity should be in place no later than the first half of 1994. Such a Government would function in terms of a transitional constitution which would, inter alia, provide for an elected parliament and executive.

However, the timing of the installation of the Government of National Unity cannot be determined in isolation from the process which must necessarily precede it. Before this can happen, a number of steps must first be successfully completed in accordance with the broad consensus which has already been reached regarding the transitional process.

Against this background, the Government is convinced that the following objectives and target time scales are attainable, and given the cooperation of all parties can even be advanced, and should therefore be vigorously pursued:

- Bilateral discussions across a broad spectrum of political parties, aimed at the resumption of negotiations, whether in a new forum or in a more representative and restructured CODESA, to be completed before:

End of February 1993

- Such a multilateral negotiating forum to be convened before:

End of March 1993

- Multilateral agreements on a Transitional Constitution (including constitution-making procedures, constitutional principles and regional governments), Transitional Executive Council and Election Commission to be concluded before:

End of May 1993

- Legislation for Transitional Executive Council and Election Commission to be adopted in:

May/June 1993

- Transitional Executive Council and Election Commission to be

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instituted in:

June 1993

- Transitional Constitution (also providing for a constitution-making body) to be enacted before:

End of September 1993

- Election rules and regulations to be formulated and promulgated before:

End of October 1993

- Playing field to be levelled; free political participation to be ensured; violence to be contained; party political campaigns to be organised and concluded; logistical preparations to be made and voter information campaigns to be conducted for elections to be held not later than:

March/April 1994

Naturally, our ability to meet these target dates will depend on the cooperation of the other major parties and their commitment to the process. However, if we are able to make rapid progress in dealing with above-mentioned steps, it may be possible to establish the Government of National Unity earlier than envisaged.

On the other hand, failure to reach inclusive agreements on transitional measures within the envisaged time frames will inevitably delay the institution of a Government of National Unity and exacerbate the country's political, economic and social problems. Should this happen, other ways and means will have to be found to bring about a Government of National Unity so that constitutional reform continues without delay.

We urge all political parties to cooperate in the quest for a just and prosperous new South Africa

ISSUED BY THE OFFICE OF THE STATE PRESIDENT PRETORIA 26 NOVEMBER 1992

APPENDIX

**ANNEXURE TO THE STATEMENT BY STATE PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK ON THE  
TIMETABLE FOR THE TRANSITIONAL PROCESS**

The present Government, on coming to power on 6 September 1989, initiated an accelerated reform process to eliminate apartheid and lead the country through peaceful negotiations to a new democratic constitutional dispensation. This process was launched on 2 February 1990.

We have removed the pillars of apartheid. All political organisations are now free to participate in the negotiation process. Negotiations progressed to the multi-party level at CODESA, which, with a few exceptions, included most of the significant parties. After CODESA II a number of parties withdrew from this process.

Many of the original CODESA participants are ready to return to multi-party negotiations. Others are holding back, while a number of those not previously involved now wish to participate.

The Government has worked ceaselessly to get multi-party negotiations back on track. For this purpose, it has been engaged in bilateral discussions with a number of parties. This has led to a perception among some of the parties that the Government and the ANC are dominating the process to the exclusion of others. There have even been media reports of a prospective power-sharing deal between the Government and the ANC. The Government has always been in favour of multi-party power-sharing, but feels strongly that this cannot come about as a result of agreement between only two parties.

Power-sharing, as a democratic principle, is particularly relevant to South Africa. In practice it means that the party that gains fifty-one percent of the vote should not obtain one hundred percent of the power at all levels of government. There is a growing awareness that it will be difficult for any one party to govern South Africa effectively. The immense challenge of national reconciliation and reconstruction can be successfully carried out only with the cooperation of all leading parties. Their involvement is a prerequisite for peace and stability. To us power-sharing is a constitutional arrangement ensuring that all parties with significant support will have meaningful participation in all areas of government at all levels. A Government of National Unity is accordingly becoming a key concept. The negotiation process has already produced broad consensus on this approach. To achieve this objective, we propose a constitution:

- giving all parties with significant support participation in the legislature, and all those with major support participation in the executive;
- providing for autonomous, original and constitutionally protected powers in respect of agreed functions at regional

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and local government level where party support may be relatively different from that at national level;

- transforming South Africa into a state in which the constitution is the supreme law and a justiciable charter of fundamental rights protects the citizen against abuse of state power;
- containing further checks and balances such as increased majorities, entrenched clauses, cooling-off periods and dispute resolution mechanisms to prevent simple majorities from riding roughshod over minorities;
- ensuring and protecting the independence of the courts, of judges and of attorneys-general;
- placing the armed forces under neutral, non-partisan control to ensure that they cannot be abused for party political ends and defend the constitution and the borders of the country and protect our citizens;
- ensuring and protecting the independence of institutions such as the auditor-general, the ombudsman and the commission responsible for the public service; and
- providing the framework for an economic and social system:
- safeguarding economic freedom, private ownership and a market economy and allowing the maximum scope for individual initiative and private enterprise;
- ensuring equal development opportunities for all; and
- addressing socio-economic needs and backlogs in the most effective and constructive way.

While these are salient features of the democratic constitution that the Government and the National Party will support and promote in the negotiations and elections, the Government also has a responsibility in respect of the process itself. In this process, leading to an election, other parties, large and small, must have an equal opportunity to promote their particular constitutional policies.

The immediate and urgent objective remains free and fair elections as soon as possible under transitional constitutional arrangements negotiated, accepted and supported by all significant parties. To this end, the Government had hoped that the process it launched in 1990 would lead the country away from violent political conflict towards a just society with normalised free party political competition and participation. Violence delays progress along the road to constitutional reform.

For elections to be free and fair, it is inconceivable that

political parties should have private armies. In the final analysis, only recognised political parties should participate in the political process to ensure a climate conducive to free and fair political participation.

This situation has not yet been achieved. Political violence and intolerance are destabilising our country and frustrating the negotiation process. The Government itself and many other institutions, parties and individuals have been working hard to bring an end to violence. Much must still be done. This requires that our people and our leaders must come out openly in full support of political tolerance and reconciliation if peace is to be attained.

While free and fair elections would hardly be possible if violence were to continue at the present level, meaningful progress in negotiations is necessary to eliminate political violence.

PRETORIA

26 NOVEMBER 1992

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